

Message Text

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41/44

ACTION SS-30

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O 241805Z AUG 74

FM AMEMBASSY BRASILIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5253

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BRASILIA 6447

EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (PARA 3A)

E.O.11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, OAS, CU, BR

SUBJECT: CUBAN SANCTIONS

REF: STATE 184048 STATE 184050

1. IN AUGUST 23 MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER SILVEIRA, ATTENDED ALSO BY DCM JOHNSON WHO I WAS INTRODUCING, I BROUGHT SILVEIRA UP TO DATE ON THE PANAMANIAN DEVELOPMENTS, TOLD HIM WE WERE EXPECTING PRESSURES FROM COSTA RICA, VENEZUELA AND COLUMBIA FOR AN OAS MEETING EARLIER THAN WE WANTED, AND SAID WE WOULD LIKE HIS ESTIMATE OF THE EFFECT OF THE PANAMANIAN ACTION.

2. THE ESSENCE OF SILVEIRA'S COMMENTS WAS THE FOLLOWING:

A. THE GOB POSITION ON THE CUBA QUESTION WAS UNCHANGED.

B. THE GOB CONTINUED TO WANT TO PUT OFF AN OAS ADDRESS TO THE SANCTIONS QUESTION AS LONG AS POSSIBLE. AGAIN HE SPOKE IN TERMS OF THE BUENOS AIRES MFM.

3. THE DISCUSSION SURROUNDING THESE BASIC POINTS PRODUCED THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS OF QUESTIONS BY SILVEIRA:

A. THE ACTION OF THE GOB IN ESTABLISHING RELATIONS WITH THE PRC HAD ABSOLUTELY NOTHING TO DO WITH ANY MODIFICATION OF ITS POSITION ON CUBA. CHINA WAS
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"INTERNATIONAL". CUBA WAS "DOMESTIC".

B. URUGUAY, CHILE AND, WITH LESS CERTAINTY, BOLIVIA WERE OPPOSED TO MOVEMENT ON THE CUBAN QUESTION, AND THOSE COUNTRIES, SILVEIRA EMPHASIZED, WERE VERY IMPORTANT TO BRAZIL.

C. BRAZIL MIGHT BE PREPARED "NOT TO ACCOMPANY A GENERAL MOVEMENT".

D. THE PROPONENTS OF ACTION ON CUBA DID NOT HAVE A MAJORITY, ACCORDING TO HIS INFORMATION. RECALLING OUR LAST CONVERSATION, I TOLD HIM THAT WE WERE SATISFIED THAT THERE WAS A MAJORITY IN FAVOR OF MOVEMENT OF SOME KIND TO RELAX THE SANCTIONS. IN OUR DISCUSSION OF THE HEAD COUNT, SILVEIRA SAID THAT HIS INFORMATION ON THE CENTRAL AMERICAN COUNTRIES WAS VERY SKETCHY. I OFFERED TO GET FROM WASHINGTON IMMEDIATELY AN UP-TO-DATE RUN-DOWN OF OUR EVALUATION OF THE CURRENT POSITION OF EACH OAS MEMBER. HE ACCEPTED THE OFFER EAGERLY.

E. WHAT KIND OF VOTING FORMULA WOULD BE USED IN ADDRESSING THE SANCTIONS AFTER THE FACIO-PROPOSED COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY HAD PRESENTED A REPORT? I REPLIED THAT HE WAS, OF COURSE, FAMILIAR WITH THE ALTERNATIVES WE HAD DISCUSSED EARLIER BUT MY OWN IMPRESSION WAS THAT THE PROPONENTS OF THE COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY WERE ASSUMING THAT THE COMMITTEE WOULD FIND THAT CUBA HAD CEASED TO BE A THREAT TO THE PEACE AND SECURITY AND THAT, IN THE FACE OF SUCH A REPORT, EVEN A TWO-THIRDS MAJORITY FOR LIFTING OR MODIFYING THE SANCTIONS COULD BE OBTAINED.

F. REPEATING AN EARLIER OBSERVATIONS, SILVEIRA COMMENTED THAT THE VERY SELECTION OF THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY WOULD PRESENT THE SAME DIFFICULTIES AS THE ADDRESS TO THE BASIC ISSUE ITSELF. HE SAID CATEGORICALLY THAT BRAZIL WOULD NOT BE A MEMBER.

G. HE DID NOT THINK THE OAS MEETING COULD BE CONVENED BEFORE OCTOBER. (HE MAY HAVE BEEN THINKING IN TERMS OF THE UNGA). I SAID THAT THAT WAS POSSIBLE, BUT OBVIOUSLY THE PRESSURE WAS RISING AND I DID NOT THINK ANYTHING COULD BE TAKEN AS CERTAIN. (THIS CONVERSATION WAS, OF COURSE, BEFORE OUR RECEIPT OF STATE 186607 (SAN JOSE 3224) AND STATE 186599
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(BOGOTA 7526).

H. WHY DID PANAMA ACT? WAS IT NOT CONCERNED ABOUT THE EFFECTS IN THE U.S. SENATE ON THE TREATY? I REPLIED THAT I COULD NOT SAY FROM THE INFORMATION I HAD WHAT THE PANAMANIAN MOTIVES WERE, BUT TORRIJOS WAS NOTORIOUS FOR UNPREDICTABILITY AND IMPULSE AND, IN ANY CASE, I DOUBTED WHETHER THE SITUATION IN THE SENATE FIGURED PROMINENTLY IN HIS CALCULATIONS.

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4. COMMENT: I AM MORE AND MORE PERSUADED THAT SILVEIRA (AND THE GOB) HAVE NO CLEAR IDEA HOW TO FACE, OR HOW TO ACT IN, THE EVOLVING SITUATION. THEY ARE NOT, AT LEAST NOT YET, IN A POSITION TO BE FLEXIBLE, AND INFACIT THE INDICATINS IN OUR LAST MEETING OF A HARDENING OF POSITION MAY HAVE BEEN REINFORCED TO SOME EXTENT BY SILVEIRA'S COMMENT--OFF-HAND, AND NOT PONDERED, I WOULD EMPHASIZE--REFERRED TO IN PARA 3 C ABOVE. BUT THE CENTRAL POINT IS, I BELIEVE, THAT THE BRAZILIAN AUTHORITIES, HOPING THAT SOMEHOW OR OTHER THE PROBLEM COULD BE PUT OFF HAVE NOT YET SET DOWN AND ADDRESSED THE MATTER HEAD-ON. THE CONVERSATION YESTERDAY SHOULD BE A GOAD, BUT IT IS NOW UP TO US, IN MY JUDGMENT, TO FORCE THE PACE AND TO GET A MUCH BETTER AND MORE CONSIDERED DIFINITION OF THE BRAZILIAN POSITION.. THE PASSAGE TO THE FOREIGN MINISTRY OF AT LEAST THE SUBSTANCE OF STATE 186607 AND STATE 186599 AND THE DELIVERY OF THE COUNTRY RUN-DOWNS WILL HELP IN GETTING THE GOB TO FACE THE CURRENT REALITIES AND TO GET OFF THE WISHFULLY VAGUE, GENERAL LINE IT HAS BEEN FOLLOWING. IN ORDER REALLY TO GET THE GOB TO LIFT ITS HEAD OUT OF THE SAND, HOWEVER, IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO HAVE IT FOCUS ON SPECIFIC ALTERNATIVE COURSES OF ACTION FOR MEETING THE SITUATION, OPTIONS THAT I AM SURE WE HAVE DEVELOPED. I DO NOT MEAN BY THIS THAT THE GOB WILL MODITY ITS BASIC POSITION AND OF COURSE, I DO NOT MYSELF KNOW WHETHER WE WANT IT TO, I.D., WHETHER WE HAVE DECIDED ON THE FUNDAMENTAL OUTCOME WE WANT (AND IN THIS RESPECT THE ALTERNATIVES WE PRESENT WILL HAVE TO BE CHOSEN CAREFULLY). BUT I DO BELIEVE

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THAT WE CAN STIMULATE AND ENLIST BRAZILIAN THINKING AND IMAGINATION ONLY BY SHIFTING FROM THE HERETOFORE CORRECT BUT NOW PROVEN UNREWARDING SOLICITATION OF GOB VIEWS ON RATHER GENERAL GROUNDS TO THE PRESENTATION OF CONCRETE, EVEN DETAILED, TACTICAL OPTIONS AS WE SEE THEM.

5. ACTION REQUESTED: (A) AUTHORIZATION TO TRANSMIT, IN AS MUCH DETAIL AS POSSIBLE, THE DEVELOPMENTS REPORTED IN STATE 186607 AND STATE 186599: (B) THE IMMEDIATE RECEIPT FOR PASSAGE TO THE FOREIGN MINISTRY OF OUR BEST, UP-TO-DATE JUDGMENT ABOUT INDIVIDUAL COUNTRY POSITIONS: AND (C) THE RECEIPT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, FOR DISCUSSION WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTRY, OF OUR CURRENT AND DETAILED IDEAS ON TACTICS FOR HANDLING THE EVOLVING SITUATION.
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